1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

574 796 Each was cordially greeted, and usually responded with a gift. Ordinary folk sat on skins or woven mats, but chiefs were seated on piles of soft things that formed a kind of sofa. Each day lengthy conversations were held among the head men, during which they reviewed their family histories, checked over their respective genealogies, questioned one another about the status of their families, caught up on vital statistics, and discussed the general state of affairs of their people. When a morning's talk was ended there was feasting and drinking,[7] followed by singing and dancing,[8] often to the accompaniment of native musical instruments. Although these assemblies included religious activities, they were presided over only by lay chiefs, and not by *machis*.[9]

[178] Since the collapse of the older social structure, large reunions are no longer regularly scheduled to celebrate the new year. They continue to be held in modified form, owing to the disappearance of functional chiefs, on occasions such as weddings, funerals, visits of married daughters to their natal reservations, and *ñillatuns*.

GAMES

525 526 "Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the Mapuche-Huilliche," wrote Cooper, "was the *kawiñ*".[10] Contained within the complex of the great assemblies was indulgence in numerous games and sports, but these might also be played apart from reunions. Araucanian games were of two

[7] Cooper (1946, p. 739) wrote: "The *kawiñ* was very apt to end in widespread intoxication among the participants, bloody fights, and sex orgies—in a word, the typical, widely distributed aboriginal South American drinking bout."

● [535] [8] Latcham (1924, p. 502) spoke of a dance called *lonco meu*, which may mean either dance of the headman or chief or dance of head movements. The former is more generally termed *loñko purun*. Latcham said that *lonco meu* was performed as a greeting and welcome to a visiting cacique, which fits the context of the San Juan fiesta. For additional details, consult Manquilef, 1914, pp. 167 ff.

[9] Latcham (1924, p. 503, *et passim*) tended to view the assemblies made up essentially of kinfolk as totemic affairs.

[10] Cooper, 1946, p. 738.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

of the field ended, and a *machi* came forward to take charge of the *ñillatun*. Since no *machi* lives at Coigue, the chief had asked a woman from a neighboring reduction to officiate. No pay is rendered on these occasions, except in the form of gifts of food. The *machi* was dressed in traditional Araucanian garb, with a neat, clean apron, a kerchief on her head, and a minimum of ornaments. There is a belief that the deities respond better to the prayers of the poor and humble. She had the appearance of a sturdy, barefooted woman of early middle age, with strong but rather handsome features. She carried a *kul·truñ* and a string of half a dozen sleigh bells. As she came up to the altar, a younger woman similarly dressed but bareheaded stood beside her with a gourd rattle in hand. Facing east toward the cross and the distant Andes, the *machi* raised the *kul·truñ* in her left hand, struck it rapidly several times, and began to intone a speedy, somewhat monotonous chant in which she called upon *Chau* ("Father") to listen to the prayers that were to come. She then thanked him for crops, animals, and other blessings, and asked for rain and continued favors in the coming season.[2] At the close of each verse the tempo of the drum beats increased rapidly and, at the signal, "Ya!" the crowd raised the shout of "Ya, ya, YAI!" Every now and then a man sounded a blast on a *trutruka* (see Pl. XI, Fig. 1.) The chant was repeated four times, (four is the sacred number of the Araucanians), and as it drew to a finish several women advanced to the altar, broke off small branches, and held them in the left hand, while one woman dipped a twig into a bowl of water and occasionally asperged all the celebrants. At this stage Chihuaicura and the other men who had dedicated the cross knelt bareheaded behind the *machi*.

When the preliminary chanting ended, a new formation was made. This consisted of several lines of men and women of all ages, wearing all sorts of native or Chilean clothes. The *machi* and her assistant stood in the center of the front row, flanked by adult women in Araucanian dress. In time to a new chant

[2] For a text of this sort, see Augusta, 1934, p. 30, No. 14.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

and drum beat the entire company in closely packed ranks began to dance backward, that is, to the west, with little jumping steps, landing sometimes on both feet and sometimes alternately on one foot or the other (Pl. XII, Fig. 2). As space opened up between the front line and the altar a young boy and girl, the cacique's son and niece, respectively, appeared. Each wore a shawl, and about the forehead a headband, into which were set bits of greenery. The boy held a bamboo pole, which he occasionally straddled like a child riding a broomstick. This pair faced the assemblage opposite the *machi*, and kept time with the others. Backward and forward, in a west-east line danced all the celebrants several times, after which the same maneuver was repeated in a south-north direction. Very soon the *machi* began to roll her eyes wildly and to breathe heavily. Her entire demeanor was that of a person who is thoroughly exhausted. Every now and then she would curl her lower lip and emit a kind of whistle, but during it all she continued to sing and dance. We were told that not much more was scheduled for this day, and as it was growing dark Mr. Donaldson and I decided to ride back to Cholchol for the night.

The next morning I returned with a native teacher from the mission. Dancing was in progress in much the same fashion as on the previous evening, except that the crowd was much larger, and many women were busy preparing food at the ramadas. As we dismounted, a young man clothed in Chilean holiday garb approached and from a bowl dipped some black paint which he daubed on our cheek bones. All the participants had been similarly smeared, and I was told that this represented both a greeting and a prayer for rain. For a similar purpose, I noticed that a bit of black cloth had been affixed to the altar, and asperging was now so copious as to suggest a mimetic shower.[36]

At about one o'clock in the afternoon the *machi*, obviously

[36] *Ñillatun* ceremonies that seek rain feature black, to represent storm clouds. Those designed for the opposite purpose use white, which stands for the sun. At Coigue rain was wanted because a long drought was making fall plowing difficult.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

overheated and tired, poured some water or *mudai* from a jug at the altar to the ground, took a long drink, and then sat on a small stool facing the cross. While she rested, a man began to beat with drumsticks on the *kul·ṭruñ*, and three performers staged the famed ostrich dance, *choike purun*. At the start, a somewhat elderly little man in tattered shirt and trousers, barefooted and bareheaded, accompanied by two young men moved to a point twenty to thirty feet east of the altar, while the other celebrants grouped themselves to the west, in an informal pack about the *machi*. For the ostrich dance, the old man affixed some sleigh bells to his waist, and the younger men had leaves bound to their foreheads (Pl. XIII, Fig. 1). Across the shoulders all three held shawls in such a fashion that they could be spread or brought together by arm movements to suggest the wings of a bird. In time to the drum's beating, the ostrich men danced toward the altar, passed it counterclockwise and returned to their starting place. The dancers gestured and posed as birds, sometimes extending one foot and then the other, flipping their shawls in and out, bobbing their heads, and turning their bodies from side to side. At one point the leader, who was really sweating profusely, bent from the waist, stuck his head into a pail of water next to the altar, and raised his bottom in imitation of a drinking bird. The audience laughed loudly in appreciation of his antics.[25]

While the ostrich dancers were performing, a group of more than fifty mounted men, led by standard-bearers carrying the Chilean flag and a black cloth affixed to a pole, formed in ranks of four, and began to gallop in a wide circuit clockwise around the entire sacred area.[26] Whenever they came abreast of the altar on the east they cried, "Ya, ya, YAI!" At intervals they charged eastward up a little hill, stopped suddenly, dismounted, bared their heads, and knelt briefly in prayer. Then they would remount and resume their circuits. As the Araucanians are

[25] Manquilef (1914, p. 187) called the ostrich dance comic.

[26] Similar circuits are made on various ceremonial occasions, to keep out or frighten off evil spirits (*ibid.*, pp. 181–83). Theoretically, they should be made in multiples of four.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

proceeded to Malalche.[28] A double row of ramadas stretched for nearly 100 yards, back to back. Those on one side were roofed and, as we were told, were used by local residents, while the unroofed ramadas were for visitors. We found a vacant shelter, near which Melinao unhitched the oxen, and which we used for rest during the day. Fires were lit at each ramada, and women were busy roasting meat on long iron skewers and preparing soup and other foods. We later discovered that the shelters had been pitched on the Malalche hockey ground, and that the playing field comprised the sacred area for the *ñillatun*. At the west end of the field there were a few sacred tree branches, a white banner, several bowls containing beans, peppers, and other produce, and jars of water, *chicha*, or *mudai*. This may be described as a secondary altar. About two or three hundred feet away, toward the eastern extremity of the hockey ground, was the main altar, which was made up of cinnamon and other branches, a Chilean flag, and a white banner. Jugs of liquids and small trays of seeds and grains stood at the foot of the altar, and near by a white sheep was tied to a small stake.

When we arrived the *machi* was seated on a small stool, facing the main altar (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1).[29] Beside her stood two female assistants, each one beating a *kul·truñ*, and all three chanting in time to the music. The *machi* was short and fat, dressed in the usual Mapuche manner except for a white scarf entwined in her hair ribbons, and she held a short string of sleigh bells and a sprig of cinnamon(?) in her hand. On the opposite side of the altar a group of two young women and four

[28] The women rode in an oxcart driven by Melinao (Pl. VI, Fig. 1). The rest of us walked. My wife and Raúl made independent notes of their observations and very kindly allowed me to incorporate them with my own. Later, Juan Antinao answered numerous questions to explain the meaning of many things we had noticed.

[29] We learned that this *machi* came from Cholchol where she lived in Chilean style. Many unfavorable comments were made by our friends because she did not maintain strict control of the proceedings, and because she apparently allowed herself to become drunk as the day progressed. Juan Antinao told us afterward that she had received sixty portions of roast meat and many beverages for her services.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

young men danced in separate rows toward and away from the altar, in an east-west direction. One of the men carried a Chilean flag, another a white banner, and the other two straddled bamboo poles as they danced. The rhythm was at all times six-eight and fairly quick, and two *trutrukas* were occasionally sounded by players standing north and south of the altar. Among the male spectators were many who blew rhythmically but monotonously on small *pifullkas*.

Shortly after noon the *machi* began a vigorous dance, once striking an inverted *kul·truñ* against her head. From her position west of the altar she moved north and then east, thus approaching the six young dancers, whom she appeared violently to oppose. Her assistants spat on the ground and repeatedly asperged the group of dancers. Soon the *machi* dropped to her knees and continued to dance wildly around the altar. She paused for a moment while an assistant bound a dark kerchief over her head and then, even though blindfolded, she resumed her forceful dance around the altar on her knees. When she returned to the west side, a number of men clashed hockey sticks over her head, and one man waved a knife about. The *machi* then began a conversation with an interlocutor, in the same fashion as in a *machitun* or curing service. Juan Antinao said later that her first words were, "I have come," referring to the arrival of the spirit that had possessed her. After an exchange of conventional greetings, the *machi* went on to give instructions for the successful conduct of the *ñillatun*, ordering, among other things, an ostrich dance, circuits of mounted men, and the sacrifice of a sheep. She also told the assemblage that the Araucanians were having trouble because they had given up their ancient ways. This must have sounded strange coming from a *machi* who lived in a Chilean town. When the spirit's report was finished, the *machi*'s head was uncovered and after she had rested a bit, the interlocutor reported the full conversation he had held with her.

A short time later, three young men, one very reluctantly, prepared to do the ostrich dance. Except for the use of shawls

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

over outstretched arms they made little pretense at costuming or bird mimicry. In rather perfunctory fashion they danced eastward toward the altar and back again four(?) times. Meanwhile, a large contingent of mounted men, with standard-bearers in the front rank, lined up in rows of four and began to gallop around the prayer ground in the characteristic style of the *awn*. Several of the men blew on *pifullkas* as they went, but the riders did not keep their ranks even and made a ragged impression.

At about one o'clock in the afternoon, when the two girls and four boys had resumed their dancing forward and back, a man with a knife came from the crowd of watchers, the sheep was untied and led to the altar, and the man slit its throat and skillfully skinned and cut it up. The blood was caught in a pan, and afterward disposed of in running water so that no dog could get it, and the sheepskin was hung on the altar.

Next, the *machi* and her assistants rose, while the bystanders lined up in closely packed ranks and began to dance to and away from the altar. People of all ages and both sexes were tightly pressed together and, to add to the confusion, men on horseback mingled with those on foot. After a few formations in several directions the dancing stopped and all went to lunch. Again, as at Coigue, masculine visitors were invited to form a line and were first greeted and then fed by men of the sponsoring reservation.

There was a long rest after lunch, and the sun was beginning to set when the mass dancing started once more, with the *machi* and her assistants in the front line (Pl. XIV, Fig. 2). This time the group went the length of the hockey field from the main altar at the east to the secondary altar at the west. At one point Juan Antinao remarked that this represented a symbolic sowing of the playing ground. A very tentative suggestion is that this may indicate that hockey, which was once connected with war, is coming to be associated, as is elsewhere the case, with agriculture.

Daylight was fading when the ceremony ended and we started

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

796
291

PLATE XII

FIG. 1. Start of the *ñillatun* at Coigue. The worshippers kneel and the *machi* stands ready with her *kul-truñ* poised. Coigue's cacique, the little man leaning forward in the front row, is about to asperge the gathering with a twig from a bowl of water.

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FIG. 2. Progress of the *ñillatun* at Coigue. The dancers are moving backward away from the altar. The *machi*, in a long white apron, stands in the middle of the front row.

[end plate 12]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE XIII

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292

FIG. 1. Two ostrich dancers at Coigue. The distinctive aspects of the costumes are the shawls over their shoulders and the headbands of leaves.

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FIG. 2. Ramadas at Coigue. The women prepare food while the *fiillatun* is in progress.

[end plate 13]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE XIV

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FIG. 1. Main altar of the *ñillatun* at Malalche.

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FIG. 2. Dance group at Malalche. The dancers are approaching the main altar. The *machi* is the short, stout woman in a light apron, second to the right from the woman holding a baby. The disordered appearance of the group is noteworthy.

[end plate 14]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

754 787 vessel. A few embers were raked together, and the pan placed on them. Every now and then the *machi* would bend over and examine it intently.

The crowd, which was momentarily increasing, sat round at a respectful distance watching the proceedings with profound interest. Only a few of the nearest relatives were allowed within the inner circle, in the capacity of helpers. The whole scene was lighted by numerous torches.

When nothing remained in the saucer but a little sediment, it was taken from the fire, and again carefully examined by the *machi*. This sediment, which I afterwards saw, was of a dark brownish green colour. The examination finished, the *machi* declared that the deceased had died of black poison (*curevunyapue*).

The relatives now insisted on his discovering the poisoner. At first, the *machi* seemed to demur and remained sitting in a crouching posture before the fire, his knees drawn up and his face buried in his hands. It was soon seen, however, that this pretended reluctance was only assumed for the purpose of obtaining greater promises of reward. At length his cupidity being satisfied he took a sudden resolve, and smearing the point of his wand with the residue left in the saucer, he stalked among the ranks of cowering Indians, who now drew apart from each other, none knowing on whom the charge might fall, and although each knew himself innocent, fearful of being considered an accomplice if found conversing with the accused.

Heedless of the commotion, the *machi* moved through the crowd, waving the stick in all directions, and crying aloud in a harsh voice, *Gunemapun alkine cheu meiepi huye*—Lord of the earth, where is the wizard? *Penelelmen chi huye*—Show me the wizard.

The Indians prostrated themselves before him, covering their heads with their ponchos, so that they should not be distinguished.

In the course of a quarter of an hour he had made the round of the whole assembly without, however, discovering what he sought. Returning to the fire, he threw on some fresh logs, and then stood for a long while buried in contemplation, while little by little the Indians recovered confidence. At last, he traced a circle on the ground, and stuck his wand upright in the centre. He then took from one of his assistants an earthenware jar, which he also placed within the circle. In this jar he placed a lock of hair cut from the head of the corpse, the parings of its finger nails, and several threads drawn from the garments it had worn at the time of its death. Making several passes over this jar, he finally dropped into it a lighted brand, repeating his former cries. He then drew several rude figures of birds and familiar animals round the outer edge of the circle.

754 787 535 Finding no result, he now seized his drum, and agitated it violently, causing a loud rattling from the stones contained in its interior, his two assistants accompanying him on reed pipes or whistles. In a few moments he began a wild dance, executing the most astonishing capers, jumping into the air, swaying his body from one side to the other, leaping from one foot to the other, meanwhile keeping time to his drum.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

By degrees, the dance became more and more furious, the contortions more complicated, and at length he broke out into a wild monotonous chant. This was kept up till human nature could stand no more, and he fell back in a fit, or state of coma, produced by utter exhaustion.

The attention of the crowd now became painful, every one waiting for some sign of returning consciousness. In about a quarter of an hour, the twitching of the limbs told of returning life, and in a short while he suddenly sat up.

When his faculties were a little clearer he again took his wand, and holding it loosely between his fingers, let it drop in the centre of the circle. Naturally, it fell across one of the figures drawn round the edge. In a short time he announced that the chief had been slain by an enemy who had taken the form of a black *caita* (wild bull), and that it was necessary to sacrifice such an animal, when the evil-doer would immediately suffer for his act.

Six young men, near relatives of the deceased, were told off for the hunt, and with very slight preparations, they saddled their horses and disappeared into the night, while the crowd gradually broke up, only the relatives remaining to take part in one of those debauches in which every Indians' reunion terminates.

In the early morning, I took advantage of the comparative quiet to look for and make a drawing of the circle and figures drawn by the *machi* the night before.

The figures were meant to represent respectively, a horse, a partridge, a wild bull, a cock, a puma, and a vulture.

It is peculiar to notice that while all the animals are drawn with two forelegs none of them have more than one hind leg, while all the birds have three toes. The diameter of the circle was about 2 feet.

Soon after sunrise, the corpse was suspended in a wicker basket from a large tree which grew in front of the hut. A fire of green *canelo* was lighted under it and the deceased's wives appointed to look after it.

It was not till the morning of the sixth day that the hunters returned dragging with them, held by two lassoes, a black bull, about two years old. The victim was fastened to stout stakes near the spot where the corpse was suspended, and the whole assembly, which had quickly drawn together on hearing the news, joined in cursing and reviling it.

Meanwhile, the drunken debauch had been kept up without intermittence, and every kind of licence indulged in. The following day was appointed for the funeral. Every one was early astir, and busy in the arrangements for the ceremony.

A coffin was constructed of hewn slabs. The body (*alhue*), black and shrivelled, was taken down, dressed in new clothes, and placed upon a bier (*pilyuay*) constructed of poles, over which a cowhide was stretched. The bier was adorned with branches of *canelo*, their sacred tree, laurel and myrtle.

The chiefs of the villages and the heads of families now brought their presents, consisting of liquors, mantas, chickens, lambs, cheese, milk, corn, cakes or other

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

knobbed or spiked club. The sling was used earlier and also the atlatl. (Cardenas, 1846, p. 43; cf. Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 117, 372; cf. also Oña, canto 6, 1917, p. 225.) Góngora Marmolejo (1862, pp. 47–48) mentions a sort of pole snare used on one occasion to drag horsemen out of their saddle. Flint axes were also used at times. The ordinary and chief weapon of the cavalry was the very long lance, later headed with a metal point; swords were used when available. Defensive armor—pre-Hispanic, since it was reported in use at very first contact by Pedro de Valdivia—consisted of helmets and coats of thick seal-skin, cowhide, or whalebone, together with thick skin shields. Long before the close of the 16th century, the *Araucanians* were beginning to use firearms.

Victory celebration and treatment of prisoners.—War captives belonged to the captor; booty, to him who first seized the loot. Sometimes captives were adopted into the tribe or kept as drudge slaves. The common practice was to put them to death, frequently with torture and special rites. The heads of battle victims were cut off and carried back on spears.

The victory celebration was held in an open field, with a canelo tree (*Drimys winteri*) in the middle thereof. The men, clothed in the skins of wild beasts dressed with the head left on, or in capes covered with feathers, danced round the tree; women also took part in the dance. Captives might be flayed alive or tortured in other ways. (See infra under Cannibalism, p. 732.) One distinctive rite first reported in 1629 by Bascuñan (1863, pp. 39–44; cf. Rosales, 1877–78, 1:125; Olivares, 1864, pp. 47–48; Molina, 1901, pp. 165–66; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, pp. 144–45), and last reported in 1828 by Poeppig (1835–36, 1:389–90, for the "*Pehuenche*" near Antuco), was as follows: One or more small holes were made in the ground; the captive was given a stick or bits of stick and told to put these bits one by one into the holes, pronouncing with each bit the name of one of his compatriot prominent warriors or relating one of his own war deeds; as he threw in the last piece, he was struck over the head with a heavy club or was pierced with lances, and so despatched.

After the death of the captive his heart was ripped out and sucked or bitten into by the assembled headmen; from his skull, a drinking cup was made; from his long bones, flutes; and from the hard dried skin of his hands, rattles. Sometimes masks were made of the dried and molded faces of killed captives and worn like the animal skins mentioned above. The victory celebration ended with the killing of an animal, with hard stamping on the ground, singing, and dancing around the heads of the enemies stuck up on spears, and with elaborate feasting and heavy drinking.

Peace rites.—A peace messenger with a canelo branch, the symbol of peace, was sent, and those coming to the council carried branches

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

533 special songs were composed for important occasions. Improvisation of songs was common. The songs, with words, not wordless or predominantly wordless, filled with metaphorical and vivid language, dealt with subjects ranging from sex and war and religion to love of kin and friends, freedom, satire, death and bereavement, various frustrations, drinking, and other events of ordinary life. (For details on songs and singing, cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 119–21; for samples of songs: Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 122–34; 1913, after p. 226, with musical notation; Félix José, 1910, many songs passim.) Besides the orators and song-composers, there were also what may be called the historians, who knew the ancient traditions, genealogies, and martial exploits of the past. The large number of proverbs current (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 15–95) and the distinctly aboriginal flavor of so many of them suggest native rather than Hispanic origin. The few riddles (Soustelle, 1938, pp. 76–77; cf. Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s. v. koneu) look more European

538

534 **Music.**—Songs were usually sung in a low voice to the accompaniment of the drum or other instrument. The chief musical instruments were: A kettle drum (kul-trun), a wooden plate or a half gourd, with a single head of skin, beaten with a small stick; a flute (pifəllka) of wood, and formerly of human longbones; a wind instrument (trutruka), 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long of *Chusquea* sp., hollowed out, with a cattle horn at the end; a shell or cattlehorn trumpet (kulkul). The shamans used particularly a hand drum of the type just mentioned and a gourd rattle (wada). Izikowitz (1935, p. 121) figures a basketry rattle. Other less frequently mentioned musical instruments were: A drum of a tree trunk, a flute of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (Housse, 1939, p. 190), and the musical bow (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:281–82; Félix José, 1916, 1:180; Izikowitz, 1935, p. 203) —the last, post-Columbian (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908). The bull-roarer was absent.

535 **Dances.**—Men and women danced, but rarely together, and to the music of drum and flutes. The older dances were seemingly at a rather slow tempo, the dancers' feet being hardly lifted from the ground. The imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been more modern, of introduction from across the Andes. Bascuñan (1863, p. 135) described one dance characterized by rather marked erotic elements, elements common in modern *Mapuche* dances (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 41; 1913, p. 229). In some of the modern *Mapuche* dances and gatherings there is considerable clowning (Félix José, 1910, pp. 45–46), and use of masks (pl. 55, *bottom*) of wood and of canelo leaves (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 128; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36).

527 796 **Recreation.**—Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was the kawiñ. This consisted primarily

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957

SG4 Araucanians SG4

Chile

857
535

Performing the dances of adults (Alepún): 1, 2, Boy 7 years of age and girl 10 dancing the waise. (Note their lack of inhibitions.) 3, 4, Boys 11 and 12 years of age dancing the choike with girls 13 and 14 years of age. (Note their bashfulness in figure 3.)

[p. 76(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

The kunkul and kullkull are used in signaling (cf. pp. 91-92). 534
Félix José defines the kunkul as he does kullkull, namely, as the horn of a cow prepared for playing as an instrument (1916, vol. 1, pp. 97, 99), but schoolboys I saw insisted, after making several kunkul (pl. 12, *1*) that what they had made were kunkul and not kullkull; the kullkull were made of cow's horn, and kunkul of chupón, they declared. A boy, in making a kunkul, used two blades (sword-shaped) of the chupón. He made a tight roll of one blade, beginning with the pointed end, and just before he rolled the last of the blade, he inserted the pointed end of the second blade and continued the rolling. When the second blade was completely rolled upon the first, the roll was tied securely with a strand of fiocha. The point of the first blade was then gotten hold of with first finger and thumb, and gently drawn forward until the whole formed a telescope. The narrow end served as the mouthpiece. If the mouthpiece is large and the telescope short, low tones are produced; if the mouthpiece is narrow and the telescope long, high tones.

No panpipes were seen in the field. But two of stone, each with four ventages, were seen in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (Nos. 715 and 739). They are, respectively, 1½ inches long and 2 inches wide, and 2¾ inches long and 2½ inches wide.

Non-Araucanian instruments in use today are the guitar and the harmonica. Both are played by men and are used for recreational purposes only. A young Alepúe man who owned a harmonica carried it in his pocket and was always ready to entertain any group. The owner of a guitar, a young Alepúe man, played at get-togethers and fiestas. He had standing invitations everywhere to do so. One or several persons usually accompanied his playing with songs, or one or two couples danced the choike to the rhythm. The sounds of either instrument drew a crowd. Encores were spontaneous, and hand-clapping prolonged playing for hours. 534 177

According to my informants, the Araucanians had no social dances in the early days. One wonders, however, about the origin of the national dance of Chile, known to Chileans as cueco, the Spanish pronunciation of the Araucanian name for the dance—choike (rhea) (pl. 17, *3* and *4*). Other social dances enjoyed by Araucanians today, for which there are no Araucanian names, are the gime, the corrido, the waise, and the marcha. These are spoken of by Araucanians as dansas; the choike, as baile. Old informants recognized the word "baile" as a Spanish word, but noted that their people must have been dancing the choike for a long period of time, since the word "baile" seemed like an Araucanian word to them. 535

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

535 Two traditional dances, really ceremonial dances, are spoken of as porun. They are danced at the ŋillatun and the machitun, and never at recreational activities (cf. pp. 149-150). "Whenever we Mapuche use the word porun, listeners know that we are not speaking of the way that the Chileans dance—Chileans never dance like we do at the ŋillatun and machitun, but we dance like they do at fiestas or at any time when we want to have a little fun; there is something sacred in the dancing that we speak of as porun."

Schoolchildren gave a fair demonstration of the gime, the corrido, the walse (pl. 17, *1* and *2*), and the marcha, but they did not think it proper to demonstrate the porun. According to Cooper's sources there was considerable clowning and the use of masks of wood and canelo leaves in some modern Araucanian dances and gatherings. He also notes that the imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been an introduction from across the Andes, and are more modern (1946, p. 738).

533 Some folk songs were sung on certain occasions only; others at
539 any time: "Some persons sing when they are drunk; some do so when it occurs to them."

The following songs sung in Araucanian were written down by schoolchildren at the dictation of older persons at home.

By a girl as sung by her father:

Mama, I came a short time ago. Mama, I thought of you. Every day I remembered you, and I wept for you, and still weep for you. That is why I came from the north to this place. I was in a forest of pine, mother.

By a boy as sung by his father:

Yes, if we have to go, we will go. Go with me to another land. Argentina is the name of this land. When this year is passed, we will go. Do not take it too hard, sister. Do not cry too much for me, sister, sister. I go to another land, sister, sister. The good God grant that all will go well with you, sister, sister.

By a boy as sung by his aunt:

Where has my beloved gone? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet loved one. Forsaken has he me, my own beloved one. Where has he gone to, my sweet loved one? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet beloved one. Forsaken has he me, my old beloved. Weeping I follow him, my sweet loved one. I have cultivated my love to fall in love with my sweet loved one. Tell me, why is it that I cannot cease crying?

[273] By a girl as sung to her by a 70-year-old woman who was visiting at the girl's home (the song is sung only by a drunkard):

We are going because we are already drunk. Yes, we are going, we two. Here is my sister, sister, sister. We are going, sister.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

about the porufe as the center. Each sun shelter is shared by several families. Persons rest in them during the daytime and eat meals there. Leaders and other men sleep there at night; all others return home or stay with relatives nearby for the night. 796

When all has been prepared, the leader, the men with the trutruka (pl. 32, *1*), and the machi take their positions. Men—as many as 796 535

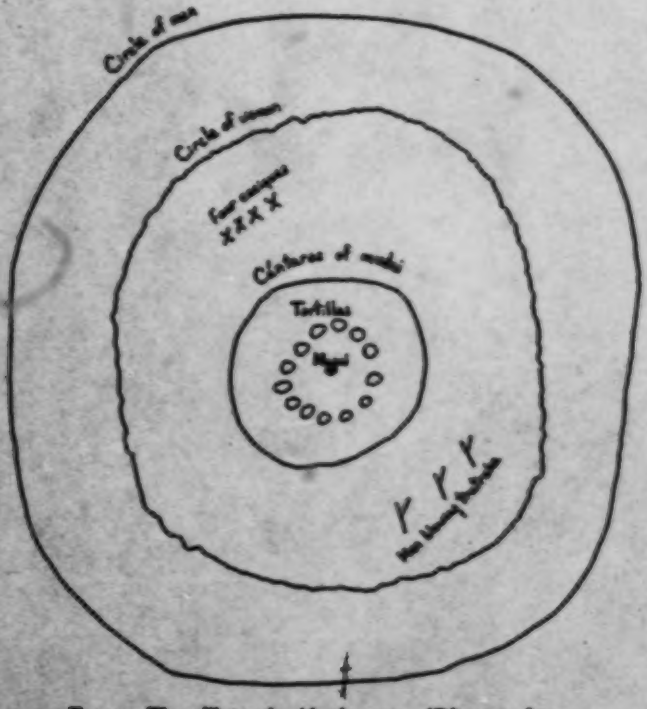

FIG. 3.—The ceremonial in Alepúe area. (Diagram drawn by an Alepúe informant.)

50 to 80, depending on the number present—mount their horses and get into formation beyond the sun shelters. Other men and the women and children get into solid formation to dance the purun about the porufe and the machi.

A man joins his right hand with the left hand of an unmarried woman, preferably his wife's unmarried sister (never with his wife); a young unmarried man, with an unmarried girl. Couples stand abreast to a radius of approximately 15 feet. The movements of the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

796 535 porun, a hopping, staccato step, is like the movement of the hands of a clock, only counterclockwise—those nearest the porufe barely move, while those farthest away move fastest. The men blow their pifalka, the machi beat their kultrun, and the men blow their trutruka—all of them together furnishing the rhythm for the step of the dance.

(At this point the informant drew the diagram shown in figure 2. The following day I went with the informant to the place where the ñillatun had been held. He stepped off the distances and the following observations were made: Tracks in the path made by the men on horseback showed that riders had been abreast. The grass of the porufe was untrodden; a circle around this small area of grass showed that dancing had been done there. Sun shelters, 16 in number, were falling apart (pl. 31, *1* and *2*). Each shelter, approximately 9 by 9 feet and 6 feet in height, was a framework of saplings of various kinds with branches used as windbreaks and shelter from the sun's rays, and each had a fireplace on the edge of it toward the porufe. Surrounding the fireplace were heavy logs, probably used for seats.)

At some distance, probably 15 yards, many of the men now on horseback ride abreast (also anticlockwise) in close formation, the horses prancing to the rhythm of the music. "This dance of the horses is called küntron." The leader of the men on horseback carries a banner in his left hand with which he also holds the bridle. With his right hand he swings a whip over his head (anticlockwise) in a manner similar to the movements when lassoing, and yells "Ya-ah!" The other men on horseback echo "Ya-ah!" twice. The horseback riders perform the küntron around the complete ellipse, outside the sun shelters, four times. Those within dance the porun until the küntron has ended.

796 782 A sheep is next cut open in the vicinity of the heart, and the pulsating heart brought forth and rammed into the tip of one of the four collihle. With each heartbeat of the dying sheep, everyone participating in the ñillatun that can get close enough takes a little of the blood as it squirts from the heart and sprinkles it heavenward—the men first, then the women—"each asking God to help them, now that they are making this sacrifice. Old people say that this is like the sacrifice of Abraham that they are told about today." Children do not sprinkle blood, "but they dance when everybody else dances and are present everywhere during the ñillatun."

796 After the sprinkling of blood, the leader goes to the fire accompanied by men carrying the sheep. Here the leader smokes a pipe while the lung of the sheep is being cut into small pieces by a young boy. The boy gives pieces of it to about 15 or 20 persons. By now the cap-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

534 stalk wrapped about with tanned horsehide. A tune is produced by beating either end with one or two sticks. The pioko, a flutelike instrument, is made by removing the core from a section of a small branch of roble or coihüe, or any wood that is soft enough to be cored without breaking the wood, and then burning a row of six ventages lengthwise in the wood. Tunes are produced by blowing across the holes.

The chollol, thimblelike rattles, are carried by the two girls, known as piwichin, in the ŋillatun (cf. p. 338). Women formerly wore them attached to their apparel on special occasions, also.

The tralatrala is a thoroughly dried lower jaw of a horse. The player produces a sound by striking it with his fist. As soon as the sound dies out, he strikes it a second time, again with his fist, but immediately moves his hand slowly upward on it, thereby producing a sound different from the first. The tralatrala is used to produce social dance music only. Since both the horse and the social dances are of recent origin, the tralatrala is probably of recent origin also. Informants knew no Araucanian name for it.

●535 Kolupan demonstrated the two traditional dances, the loŋkomeo and the poruntun. He danced the loŋkomeo, a three-step, by taking two short steps with one foot and following it by one step with the other foot. "I could do better if I could hear trutruka and a kultruŋ playing the tune for it," he said. The poruntun is performed by taking a hopping staccato step alternately with each foot. He imitated the rhythm produced by beating the kultruŋ by saying, "dung, dung, dung, dung" and then took a step to coincide with each "dung." Onlookers assisted with the rhythm by clapping hands at each "dung." This was done to encourage the dancers. "The Tehuelche," Kolupan added, "danced a different dance. The Tehuelche, you know, are not Araucanians." He indicated the difference by singing a song.

Social dancing was not part of the traditional recreation of the Araucanians; today Araucanians join in with Argentines who are enjoying such dances as the waltz, the polka, and other recreational dances. There are no Araucanian names for these dances.

Songs were suited to the occasion, one occasion being the ŋillatun (cf. p. 339).

GAMES

525 A game of chance, known as xwár kuden (game with beans), is played by men at get-togethers. Boys also play it among themselves. Women and girls and nonparticipating men are onlookers. As many as wish may play. Stakes are announced before playing is begun. Thirty

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

have for the people. "Then we say to them: 'Bless us, your people, with wheat and apples and good weather; bless us with good health and sufficient food; bring children to our families; protect our children and keep all evil from them; bring an increase to our animals, also!'" According to a Collón Curá informant, prayers are said during the dances. The following is one of these: "I hope that this prayer of the people, a united prayer, will be answered, father king of the earth and distinguished woman of the kingdom." He wrote it in Araucanian: "Peumguem queme tripapa tayin traun fəta chau chau, rey mapu, ray kuʃe," and added, "It is a pity that so few persons today know the Araucanian prayers of former days; when we lived like real Araucanians, like the Mapuche in Chile still do, everybody could join in the prayers."

Prayers are said with hands held open at face height, palms toward the colihüe, while standing (today kneeling) near the colihüe at the base of which are the offerings of one's family. Men pray first; women next. Following this, the women sing several songs, again with hands raised to face level and palms toward the colihüe stalks. One song refers to the eagle: "The eagle, the eagle, the eagle! The eagle stands at midday. High in the heavens he stands, in the wind, in the wind." The men call out a refrain of "Yah, yah, yah, yah, yah!" The women then sing of the puma: "The puma, the puma, the puma, the puma! I have a good horse. Even though the mountains are high, my horse is good. There is no better horse than mine, says the puma. The puma, the puma, the puma, the puma! He says, I have a good horse; I have a good horse; I have the best horse that travels the Cordillera; as bad as the road may be, my horse always runs!" Again the men answer with the refrain "Yah, yah, yah, yah, yah!"

The machi now beats the kultrun, and all present clap hands to the rhythm. Dancing, known as poruntun, begins. Each woman joins one hand with a hand of a man. With men to the outside, couples in close formation move forward circlewise in a hopping staccato step, alternately on each foot. "Whenever we say poruntun, we mean this type of dancing; it is a sacred dance and everyone is serious during it; formerly we did not dance when we were gay, like we do today." While the poruntun is being danced, the men on horseback ride around the dancers, but a short distance from them. The poruntun ended, the men on horseback form a line and ride toward the sun, praying for the people.

A Collón Curá informant listed five dances that are performed during the gillatun in his area. They are the dance of the choike (rhea), the mara (patagonian hare), the tregle (a bird), the pono pono mapu

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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(stamping on the ground), and the huillafan kawell (galloping horse). The dancers of the choike today wear rhea feathers on their heads and bells across their chests, a custom, the informant believed, borrowed from the Tehuelche, since old persons say that formerly the Araucanians did not wear these. Kolupan was of the same opinion, and added, "Today, our people also wear them when tourists wish to photograph them." In demonstrating the choike, the Collón Curá informant folded a poncho cornerwise, swung it across his back with folded edge at neckline, held one of each of the opposite corners in one hand, and stretched his arms out full length. Holding the poncho taut in line with his arms, he moved his arms like a bird does its wings, remarking that they represented wings. Dancing is done to the rhythm of the kultrun. To demonstrate the dance he shook his head from side to side as does the rhea (choike) when walking, and touched the floor with the toes of one foot and then the heel. He did this alternately with each foot as he moved forward. Each dancer did the same, one dancer following close behind the other. All movements coincided with a beat of the kultrun.

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Only old men smoked at the ŋillatun. Clay pipes (raq kitra) made by the women were used. Often they were ornamented with silver. Other essential pottery, also made by the women—and still considered essential today—are jugs (metawe), ollas (challa), whistles (pifalka), plates (ral'i), and cups (yiwe). The tall impressive canelo of Chile, which grows only to shrub height in Argentina, is not considered sacred by Argentine Araucanians, and is not used in the ŋillatun.

At the closing of the ŋillatun the men on horseback face the people and form a circle around them. The officiating cacique then delivers a long address which is answered by a captain of a visiting cacique. This done, the officiating cacique orders the burial of a pottery vessel which contains food reserved from the ceremonial, generally wheat, corn, and several tortillas baked in ashes. Anyone wishing to add to the contents may do so. Many do add wheat or corn until the vessel is filled. The vessel is about a foot high and a foot in diameter, and must have two opposing handles close to its opening. The contents is covered with leaves of maqui and the vessel buried approximately 2 feet below the surface of the earth. A bush of arrayán is planted over the burial place to serve as a marker. "This will be done in Quilaquina in April," noted Kolupan, "if the cacique calls the people together for a ŋillatun, as he is supposed to do. A vessel was buried in Quilaquina at the end of the last ŋillatun, but someone plowed the land of the ŋillatun and no one now knows where it is buried. That tells you how our old ways are disappearing; they

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

(*murke*) set out for the workers while they take breaks from their labors. Women tend to remain at home on these occasions, unless they have been invited by the host's wife to assist in the preparation of the meal. They do not make contributions of food, but they serve the men when they take their noon meal and, if the work lasts until late evening, help with a second meal.

Repair of the communal roads is usually organized by a chief and participated in by most of the males of the reservation. This also applies to draining swampland; if a large part of the reservation is affected. Small-scale drainage operations might involve only a few families, in which case the chief qua chief takes no part. The participation of a chief in all of these matters implies some organizational or managerial activity, but is most important in symbolizing the importance of the work group. The chief seldom performs a full day's work along with the others, although he may work for a short period and usually provides a team or two of oxen if they are needed. The chief also contributes some food and drink, but usually a large meal is not required, and the workers take their main meal at home.

Most threshing is done by machine today and *mingaco* arrangements are rarely encountered in this activity. This machinery is generally rented from the same entrepreneur who owns the harvesting equipment. However, in some parts of Araucanía machines do not have easy access to Mapuche reservations owing to poor roads and rugged terrain. Horse threshing and sometimes ox threshing still occur, therefore, especially in the remoter parts of the indigenous zone, such as around Lake Budi and in parts of the Andean foothills. Animal threshing and even hand-flail threshing are resorted to when certain crops are grown in small amounts, or when harvests are very poor. Grains are almost always machine-threshed if it is possible to haul them by cart to a stationary machine, but peas and beans are not raised in large enough quantities to make this worthwhile. As late as twenty years ago in the now heavily mechanized Temuco region machines were rare and large *mingacos* were held for harvesting and threshing wheat and oats, the principal cereal crops grown. Sometimes, instead of animals, people trampled the stacks of grain, couples dancing to the sibilant tone of the *pifülka* and traditional Mapuche songs.

Mingacos are still frequent today, although they tend no longer to be held in connection with the major harvesting and threshing operations in most of Araucanía. They are characteristically made up of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

which characterizes male organization. The collective solidarity that women attain rests on the customary relationships among their spouses in the spheres of economic, religious, and political activities. Women of the local group do not assemble for communal undertakings independently of their husbands, except on a small scale for certain subsistence activities. In such cases, their cooperation is not without the approval of their husbands and might even be contingent on certain economic understandings between their respective spouses.

In-married women enter into all the physical arrangements of activities concerning their residential kingroup in an important and practical way, but on a subordinate footing to their husbands and adult sons — and they lack formal organization. But females of the lineage also have a subordinate status, which might indicate that it is not the peripheral position of in-married women to the core of related males which is of sole significance in this regard, but their position as females in a society in which organizational responsibility is traditionally in the hands of men. Women have no official decision-making role in group activities. But they have a significant behind-the-scenes influence on their spouses in certain spheres of community interest and activity. It is their intimate and continual participation in community-based activities during most of their adult life which serves to set them off from females of the patrilineage.

As wives and mothers, in-married women rank higher in the community than unmarried women of the patrilineage, although we have seen that the anomalous position of resident females of the patrilineage makes generalization on this matter difficult. In-married women participate fully in agricultural activities which, though for the most part household-based, at times extend to the entire reservation settlement. They perform the important function of preparing the food served at communal religious, funeral, recreational, and political gatherings, and they participate in other ways. Married women are the principal female dancers at the religious ceremonies, make up a distinct body of ceremonial mourners at funerals, and so forth.

Under the system of matrilateral marriage some of the in-married women on almost any reservation are consanguineal relatives who tend to be married to closely related males of a sublineage. Consanguineal ties between women in this instance are reinforced by the close relationship between their spouses, and they form a tightly integrated segment of the totality of in-married women. It is doubtful, at least in modern times, if this consanguineal bond looms as large as

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

anything more than flirtation and the bodily contact that certain dances afford.

Ceremonial dancing, which is largely limited nowadays to the *ñillatun* rite, is not without its opportunities for sexual advances. Many young people who dance together at these ceremonies are already courting. If this is not the case, pairing off for ceremonial dancing might bring the possibility of a match to the minds of the parents, who are also in attendance and who are apt to take special notice of this sort of thing. Later, the parents might individually encourage the affair. If they are dissatisfied, however, they could profit from the ceremonial occasion and publicly discourage the young people.

While premarital sex is always a *sub rosa* affair, parents become concerned if their children are not proceeding along the road to courtship and marriage. Bashfulness in public is ridiculed by parents. Young people are encouraged to mingle, especially when they are chaperoned by responsible adults.

A young man receives his greatest assistance in love affairs from males of his peer group, usually parallel cousins or brothers, but he also obtains great encouragement from his sisters and other close female relatives. Sisters will tease him about his interest in a certain girl, perhaps in this way bringing it to the attention of the parents for the first time. They advise him that bashfulness is not becoming to a man and might also tell him that "as in the past" his marriage will have to be arranged for him. Mothers sometimes follow a similar line, but couch their remarks more gently. They characteristically work behind the scenes in forwarding a suit of which they approve. Fathers seldom concern themselves directly in these matters, especially refraining from giving advice to their daughters. With this exception, the entire household takes an active interest in a proper love affair, and it is in time thoroughly discussed, although questions and answers are generally dissembled by teasing and mockery.

ILLICIT LOVE AFFAIRS AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS

Pregnancy most often leads to marriage, in which case there are no major interpersonal and social upheavals, provided the marriage is within licit bounds. The young man is prevailed upon by his sweetheart in the name of the child to be born and her own hapless condi-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neighborhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Likewise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the participant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral assemblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

a dance around the secondary altar before returning to the main one.

Meanwhile, the *purun* (a dance) has begun around the *rewe* (main altar). The *awn* riders now take up their positions in the *purun*, the two sergeants assuming command of the dancers—subject to the orders relayed through the captains from the *ñillatufe*. After a series of fast and slow *purun*, the dancing comes to an end. There might be a special *lonkopurun*, danced by men to dramatize the relation between the living and their dead chiefs, and to show how the ancestral chiefs aid their descendants and combat the forces of evil. All *purun* dancers (women are allowed and expected to perform) wear sprigs of *canelo* or *maqui*—sometimes shafts of wheat, barley, or a few kernels of maize—which they take from the *rewe* when beginning to dance and replace when finished, endowing themselves with a sacred quality meanwhile. As the *awn* encirclement, the *purun* is also danced around the main altar from right to left, or counterclockwise. The *awn* and the *purun* are accompanied by the playing of *pifulka* (single- or multitone whistles of clay, wood, or stone), the sounding of the *trutruka* (a long trumpet), and the continual beating of the *kultrun* (drum).

After the *purun* is finished, the men line up on one side of the altar (*rewe*) facing the *ñillatufe*, and the women participants on the other (left) hand of the *ñillatufe*. They form two lines stretching toward the east between the *rewe* and the *llañi*. The *ñillatufe* then begins his second prayer, which concludes the first sequence, the early morning ritual. The *ñillatufe* utters his oration in four stanzas. During the intervals between the stanzas, the opposed lines of men and women dance standing in place. The words of the prayers (or at least their sacred meaning) are incomprehensible to most of those assembled.

The *ñillatufe*, with assistance from the captains and sergeants, kills one of the sheep staked near the *rewe*. He does this with a long knife, slitting the animal's throat. While the sheep is bleeding to death, the *ñillatufe* cuts off its right ear, which he holds aloft while speaking a prayer. After this, he opens the chest cavity of the dead animal, frees the heart and withdraws it. He holds the heart aloft, again in his right hand, and utters a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

second in-place dance is performed to the commands of the sergeants, after which the *ñillatufe* begins the third stanza of prayer. This time he may cast kernels of maize only, or barley or oats, depending on which crop has been sowed in greatest abundance, throwing some on the sacrificial fire as before. The third in-place dance begins and ends. The *ñillatufe* again prays, either scattering grain or aspersing with *mudai* or *chicha*, also taken from special bowls near the main altar. After the fourth stanza of prayer, the *purun* takes place again and many of the spectators participate. They dance for ten or twenty minutes, many of the older people tiring and dropping out to return to their *ramadas*, where the mid-morning snack is prepared.

When the sergeants signal that the *purun* is over, the dancers leave the *rewe*, replacing sprigs of sacred branches with which they danced. They return to their respective *ramadas*, where libations of *chicha* are already being poured by the older people, and everyone partakes of a light meal. There is a good deal of visiting from one *ramada* to the next, with visitors being presented with food. The amount they receive indicates their importance and is often calculated to reciprocate equally a gift of food made during a previous ceremony. Gifts of food are exchanged in this way among most families in attendance. Special *konchotun* (a loose-binding blood pact) ceremonies may also take place at this time.

Subsequent parts of the ceremony duplicate the early morning rites part for part. Ideally, the prayers and other activities have to be repeated perfectly, but there seems to be only an approximation to ritual perfection, or a broad interpretation of the ideal. A second sheep or other animal may not be sacrificed until the close of the ceremony, but if animals are abundant (i.e. if the donors are wealthy), a sheep might be killed at each part of the ritual. It is said that there should be four sessions of sacrifice-dance-prayer and one special *lonkopurun* on each day of *ñillatun*, and that the ceremony should last at least two days. Again, this ideal is only approximated. There may be only two main sessions on the first day, perhaps three on the second, and an ordinary *purun* may be called a *lonkopurun*. There are always at least two main prayer sessions each day, however, and one repeats the other.

I have stressed the priestly function of *ñillatufe*, the sacrificial